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NATIONAL REVIEW

Bulletin

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Two months ago, "soldiers" of the Communist-backed Stanleyville regime invaded northern Katanga, raping, butchering, cannibalizing as they moved through the villages. They captured the important town of Manono, which they then declared to be capital of an independent "Luluaba state." UN troops were in the area. They made no effort to stop the invaders.

Last week an orderly, disciplined contingent of the Katanga army moved suddenly on Manono. The Stanleyville force fled in panic. There was, apparently, no bloodshed, no atrocity. Manono and the surrounding area thus returned to the jurisdiction of the legitimate Katanga government.

The UN Command was moved to instant fury. Dire threats against Moise Tshombe thundered from Léopoldville. A UN Peace Corps of one thousand formidable Gurkhas—lately brought from India (on U.S. planes) for just such chores—was flown, armed *cap à pie* for combat, to the Katanga air base of Kamina, directly threatening Elizabethville. Another thousand or so Gurkhas were in immediate reserve, and 2,300 more on a U.S. transport ship rushing toward the Congo through the Indian Ocean.

Is there no limit to the insanity of this UN Congo operation? Or to the insanity of our government's frenetic, all-out, unconditional support of the UN operation? Why should there be a single UN soldier in Katanga? The Moise Tshombe regime is considerably short of the Ideal Republic of philosophy textbooks. But granted the context, it's been doing all right; and by contrast with the rest of the Congo, it's been doing miraculously. It is staunchly anti-Communist, and has been—or has wanted to be—pro-Western. It has preserved law and order and a functioning economy. There have been no horrors in the cities, and few signs of the frightful black racism which has so virulently infected most of black Africa. And it is *this* regime, among all the multitudinous Congolese "governments," that the UN armies—transported by our vehicles, supplied from our stores, paid from our Treasury, and present only through our political backing—are acting to destroy. It is understandable why that destruction is the Communist goal, and why, indeed, it is the goal of Dayal and Nehru, who have their own long-term notions about what people should be dominant in black Africa. But why, why, why, should it be ours?

The Gurkhas are among the world's best combat troops. If they are itching for action, we put forward a modest suggestion. Why not alter the course of that speeding transport and reload those planes, and dispatch the whole outfit, on the double, to match their traditional talents against the Pathet Lao in Laos? But the UN, World's Hope for Peace, seems not yet to have heard about the trouble in Southeast Asia. Laos has not been placed on the UN agenda. After a much-publicized trip to Laos just over a year ago, Dag Hammarskjold referred the matter to an economic advisor. He made no mention of the Communist threat.

In passing, while we still have the chance, with the United States (so far at least as we can comprehend its Constitution) not yet itself legally at war in the Congo, we say: we hope Moise Tshombe licks hell out of the UN.

The WEEK

● There was a new kind of Easter Parade on many an avenue this year. The pacifists were out en masse, beards and long hair flying, marching for peace. They marched from the Kittery [Maine] naval base to Times Square. They paraded past the birthplace of the United Nations, the San Francisco Opera House, stumped up Chicago's Loop, cheered disarmament and neutralist speeches in Seattle and Philadelphia. In New York, high school and college students roared their approval of folk singer Pete Seeger (Hero of the Hour in virtue of his recent conviction on contempt of Congress charges) and stamped out an accompaniment to his popular "Roll On," a soul-stirring ballad on the dangers of nuclear armament. In England, 30 thousand marchers, after 50 mile marathons down from Aldermaston (atom plant) and Wethersfield (U. S. base), converged on London's Trafalgar Square to greet Britain's panjandrum of pacifism, Lord Bertrand Russell, with "Ban the Bomb," "Go Polaris" and "Unilateral Disarmament" placards. The pacifist demonstrations made such a bang the world barely noted another parade, this one silent, and stealthy, desperate, by seven thousand

East Germans who, under cover of the Easter festivities, under penalty of death if caught, took a walk for freedom, surfacing in West Germany, which is free today, thanks to The Bomb.

● The proposed "College Academic Facilities and Scholarship Act" now before the House Education Subcommittee would lodge "virtually dictatorial powers" over construction loans with the Commissioner of Education in Washington, says the Chamber of Commerce. The Commissioner would also get "virtually unlimited" power "to regulate and control the condition for paying scholarships and to control methods of selection of individuals to receive scholarships." There is no "national shortage" of college classrooms and dormitories, the Chamber points out and pressure for admission into the prestige colleges should not be allowed to obscure the fact that hundreds of good, smaller colleges are trying to attract larger enrollments, to fill existing accommodations.

Behrendt, *Algemeen Handlsblad*, Amsterdam

"There's still a place!"

● Almost all economists, from orthodox to Keynesian, support the President's announced intention to revise depreciation rules as one method for stepping up the economy's growth, lowering costs, and thus improving our position on the world market. But action is being stymied by sharp opposition from the AFL-CIO. The labor leadership, after long hesitation over the issue, has taken its negative stand. A faster rate of depreciation, argues the AFL-CIO correctly, will speed up automation; and by displacing workers will result, it continues incorrectly, in still further unemployment beyond the already uncomfortable level. Just such was the reasoning of their grandfathers when Henry Ford set up the first assembly line; and of their grandfathers' grandfathers when they smashed the first spinning jennies in Manchester.

● For some years the U. S. government has been disposing of (or dumping) surplus food abroad under the form of a sale to the recipient country for payments in blocked, non-convertible and often very shaky local currencies. As one result the mountains of zlotys, rupees, cruzeiros, dinars, rupiahs and wooden nickels held for our account is nearing a total of $10 billion. We already hold enough Yugoslav dinars to last 37 years. In relation to its national income, our box of Pakistani rupees is equivalent to $20 billion. There is no possible way for us to use all this hoard; and even to give it away would wreck the local fiscal systems. Far from there being any prospect of its reduction in the years ahead, the Kennedy "food for peace" program means that it is headed for new heights.

● *"The restoration of the aggressive West German Army commanded by Hitler and its equipment with missile-nuclear weapons . . . is going at forced pace with the aid of the United States, Britain and France . . . The West German government repeatedly advances territorial claims on other states, and also conducts revanchist propaganda among the West German public. West Germany turns into the major hotbed of war danger in Europe."* So reads the communiqué of the just concluded conference of the Warsaw Pact (Soviet Union plus the East European satellites), carefully timed to feed the fire of anti-Germanism fanned by the Eichmann case. Messrs. Bowles and Stevenson may believe the struggle for the world is being decided in the underdeveloped nations. The Communists focus their eyes more steadily on target. And the Kremlin also knows that no diversionary maneuver is so effective as an anti-German campaign: to keep the satellites, if not satisfied, at least half-reconciled to Russian overlordship, for fear of a German threat; to dilute anti-Communism with the warmed-up passions of past wars and horrors and hatreds.

● Pietro Nenni, leader of the Communist-tied Italian Socialist Party, has launched a test run of the idea of a "workers' Europe," socialist and neutralist, as opposed to "capitalist Europe," free-market and Atlantic oriented. Mr. Nenni has evidently been studying President Kennedy's and Secretary Rusk's recent statements explaining our new preference for "neutralist" instead of "committed" governments.

● *La Nation Française's* estimate of Mr. Kennedy's Laotion strategy: "The American alert of these recent days, marked by the sending of marines to Thailand and the combat deployment of the Seventh Fleet will doubtless not make too much impression on the Moscow leaders. No one believes that the Washington government will risk a conflict to safeguard Laotian neutrality; no one believes, above all, that President Kennedy has reconciled himself to the loss, for the sake of such an unfavorable gamble, of the popularity that he now enjoys with the neutralist third of the world."

● A Capitol Hill correspondent, Dick West, took a close look recently at the expense accounts, published this year for the first time in the *Congressional Record*, of con-

gressmen while on foreign junkets. He came away confused, among other items, by the expenses of Senator Maurine Neuberger to the 1960 NATO Parliamentarians' conference in Paris. She spent $134.02 for lodging but only $2.83 for food. "Was she on a diet?" he wonders. Senator Jacob K. Javits ran up a $1,845.48 bill for transportation, but Senators Kefauver, Fullbright and Johnson reported no transportation expenses. Hitch-hikers?

● The first Portuguese settler arrived in Angola just one year before Columbus discovered America. But as a colonizer he was somewhat of a flop. Had the Portuguese managed to exterminate *their* aborigines, they wouldn't be in trouble with the UN today.

Strongmen

One circumstance of the birth of the Peace Corps deserves more notice than it has got. The project was brought to life—"on a temporary pilot basis"—solely by executive decrees. After it has become a *fait accompli* in a year or so, Congress may be asked to lend an ex post facto consent. And yet there is nothing so urgent about the Peace Corps that couldn't have waited a month or two for the legislative process prescribed in the nation's charter.

Mr. Kennedy never made any bones about his intent to be a "strong President." The "strong" here refers not to a trait of character but to the constitutional doctrine of "executive supremacy." President Kennedy is evidently going to act independently of Congress whenever he thinks he can get away with it, until he succeeds in reducing Congress to the Presidential handmaid it became in Franklin Roosevelt's high-riding early years.

Already executive decrees have reassigned huge sums of relief and public works money; begun a basic reorganization of the military establishment; asserted Presidential domination of the regulatory commissions; reversed the Eisenhower (and statutory) policy of keeping the Federal Reserve Board free of Treasury and thereby Presidential dictation; by-passed private bargaining, the NLRB, and the courts in labor disputes. Every Presidential screw was turned to get the House to enlarge the Rules Committee, that it might be more submissive to White House *diktat*. Each new welfare program contains clauses to magnify the scope of executive discretion. The new foreign aid scheme would give the executive a virtually free hand with billions of dollars—and no need to check in with Congress for five years on end.

This, it would seem, is the Kennedy choice and style. Fortunately, under our system of government, though the executive normally does the proposing, the legislature has a share in disposing. And our legislature, with all its big Democratic majority, sees what Mr. Kennedy is up to. When the executive must, for the nation's safety, act quickly, Congress seldom brakes or interferes. In truth, many in Congress, however resistant to the "strong President" *doctrine*, would like a far stronger *policy*, where

PEOPLE: Next big propaganda blast at nuclear armaments scheduled for Oslo, May 18. Dr. **Linus Pauling** will speak, **Bertrand Russell, Philip Noel-Baker** and possibly Dr. **Albert Schweitzer** to be co-headliners. . . . On agenda: formal protest at arming of NATO forces with nuclear weapons. Build-up for Oslo protest already started in domestic, foreign Communist press. . . . **Robert Taber,** a radio writer instrumental in setting up Communist-supported Fair Play for Cuba Committee, saying no-thanks to bid by Sen. **Dodd** that he return to States and talk to Internal Security Subcommittee. Taber now working for *Revolución*, **Fidel Castro's** *Pravda*. . . . Soviet Ambassador **Bazykin** (to Mexico) loud in praise of Brazil's President **Janio Quadros** in recent swing through Ecuador, Venezuela.

House Rules Committee seat of the late **Carroll Reece** to go to **William Harvey,** another GOP conservative. . . . Sen. **Williams** (R., Del.) estimates **Kennedy** program thus far will cost country $8-billion above recommended **Eisenhower** budget. . . . Rep. **Vinson** (of Ga.) in about-face has recently become avid supporter of Kennedy program (which includes the award of a $1 billion contract to Lockheed's Marietta, Georgia, plant.). . . *Brother acts*: **David Rockefeller's** denial that he has mayoralty ambitions in NYC taken as seriously as most such denials are. . . . It looks now as if **Morris Udall,** the Liberal Democratic brother of Interior Secretary **Udall,** will beat out conservative Republican **Mac Matheson** in Arizona's May 2 special congressional election. Matheson is colorless campaigner. . . . House Speaker **Sam Rayburn** vigorously denies NR's charge (March 4) that he has cut off patronage to Dallas in an effort to force defeat in 1962 of Rep. **Bruce Alger,** conservative Dallas Republican (*Newsweek* made same charge, March 20).

The conservative Italian *Borghese* claims secret negotiations are underway between Egypt's **Nasser,** Tunisia's **Bourguiba** and the Algerian rebels on possible partition of Lybia. Lybia's important U. S., British bases, according to *Borghese*, would be neutralized or fall to Communists. . . . Signs of times: in Albanian capital of Tirana pictures of **Khrushchev** are being replaced by pictures of **Stalin.** Albania's Red chief Gen. **Hoxha** was only satellite head to miss Warsaw Pack meeting after doctrinal tiff with Nikita. . . . **Roberto Holden,** head of the Angola nationalist movement, which now operates from Belgian Congo, recently visited the U.S. with the assistance of the U.S. embassy in Léopoldville.

From **Arthur Koestler's** latest book: "Pacifism is a philosophy which unfortunately only appeals to pacifists."

the nation's safety is urgently at stake, as in Laos or Cuba or at the nuclear test talks. (It is not unusual in this century that a "strong President" should use his administrative strength to carry out a soft and weak policy.)

When Congress sees no acute emergency, it dislikes being stampeded. Except in the narrow issue of the Rules Committee fight, the present Congress has so far refused to submit without deliberation of its own to the daily Presidential commands. Mr. Kennedy may in the end get "his" minimum wage bill, or something pretty much like it. But its defeat in the House is an encouraging reminder that our Congress is not yet quite ready for Caesar.

From the John Birch Front: The press has established maybe John Birch wasn't a hero after all. He talked back to the Chinese Communists, didn't he? No wonder they shot him! . . . Max Lerner writes: "In terms of organization, semi-secrecy, lack of financial accounting, local vigilantism, and all the flummery of crusading units, the John Birch Society is much closer to the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils. In terms of the paraphernalia of a Fuehrer, [Welch's] contempt for democracy, his decision to make his outfit 'monolithic' and 'authoritarian,' it reminds one more than a little of the early Hitler movement." (Not long ago the Moscow trials reminded Max Lerner of democracy) . . . **Robert Welch under pressure by members of the Council of the John Birch Society to repudiate his Black Book, whose existence was unknown to most members of the John Birch Society until it was "blown" by the press.** . . . No question about it, Black Book *did* conclude Eisenhower was a Communist. "They're both wrong," Ralph de Toledano quipped in Los Angeles: "Welch in calling Eisenhower a Communist, Truman in calling Eisenhower a Nazi." (Which Truman did, in about as many words, in 1952.) . . . **Nobody seems to know just exactly what J. Edgar Hoover said about JB Society.** . . . Welch's *Bulletin* for April 1 presupposes nationwide interest in his Black Book and in JB Society is the result of Communist conspiracy. Comment by one congressman: "The Communists didn't write the rules of what's interesting and what isn't. Obviously it's interesting if the head of an important organization thinks Ike was a Communist—even if he didn't tell it to anybody but a priest —it's still news, if you can get hold of it." . . . **Ralph McGill: "JB Society [seeks] to cloak its fascism with anti-Communism." (Is there a lawyer in the house?)** . . . Mrs. Roosevelt says the only way to treat the JB Society "is to smile at it." (There are those who would do *anything* to keep Boca Grande from smiling!) . . . **Senator Thomas Dodd: "The press has a tremendous weapon for public good in the power of exposure. It has used it effectively in the case of the [JB] Society. But for some reason which I cannot understand, it has not used this weapon anywhere near as effectively against the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the various offshoots of the Com-**

• At Home •

Washington

It can be reliably reported that from his vacation retreat in Palm Springs, General Eisenhower is watching the foreign policy contortions of the Kennedy Administration with some concern. He is also annoyed, in typical fashion, at the assumption of the American press that he stands 100% behind what becomes ever more patently President Kennedy's complete submission to No. 10 Downing Street on the Laos crisis. To intimates, the general has said flatly that his remarks on the crisis were merely an attempt to let the President know that he could depend on bipartisanship if he took the necessary step of intervening in the Laotian kingdom. Acceptance of a cease fire and of "negotiations" are, to General Eisenhower and others in his retinue, but the first step down the road of appeasement and piecemeal surrender.

The more crusty individuals among us may point out that during his White House tenure Mr. Eisenhower was seldom a tower of strength. But there is no doubt that he has been angered by a number of State Department moves—all justified as tending to an "easing of tensions." Efforts to ship militarily significant machine tools to the Soviet Union, the lifting of the ban on the import of slave-labor-produced Soviet crabmeat, and the release of two Communist spies (caught Red-handed by the FBI), are more than somewhat disturbing to General Eisenhower. However misguided or misinformed he may have been in the past, he is essentially a patriotic American. And it may be that, rid of his "advisers" and the "let's not be beastly to the Russians" position papers of the influential State Department middle echelon, he has begun to see the light.

General Eisenhower, however, has not been informed of the latest effort to defeat Communism by bowing to it. And this is a story that bears repeating. Some weeks ago, U. S. Immigration officials blocked entry into the United States of a Polish secret police agent. A fat dossier in security files detailed this espionage operator's past and present. Under the McCarran-Walter Act, he was categorically inadmissible. At this point, Secretary of State Dean Rusk entered the picture. He informed the Justice Department that the noble Pole must be admitted, in order to forestall a temper tantrum from Nikita Khrushchev. Following Mr. Rusk's instructions, the Communist spy was classified as a cultural exchangee, the Immigration Service was forced to concur, and the gates of the United States swung open. If the State Department's behind-the-hand comments can be believed, the whole episode was part of the deal which brought about the release of the RB-47 fliers. There are no visible signs

that tensions have been eased one whit—in fact they grow touchier with each passing day. But Mr. Rusk is happy, and that's what apparently counts.

Early in May, Richard Nixon will emerge from the tent in which, like Achilles, he has sulked, and do battle with the Democrats. This is the word from highly reliable Republican sources. Mr. Nixon, it is reported, will steer clear of foreign policy for the time being. But he is preparing to challenge President Kennedy and the Democrats on their suicidal fiscal policy, the WPA aspects of the Peace and Youth Corps, Federal aid to education, the farm program, and assorted matters. If this is true—and if Mr. Nixon returns to the rocking, socking tactics which catapulted him into national prominence—then the political arena will cease to be the refuge of clowns, cute little girls, and the fancy Dans of the left who have taken over the Kennedy Administration. Most conservatives, who bemoan Mr. Nixon's genteel conduct of his campaign, will wait and see. But they agree that something must be done quickly to counter the complacency of Senate and House Minority leaders Everett Dirksen and Charles Halleck.

Mr. Dirksen is worrying about Illinois and his chances for re-election in 1962. Mr. Halleck, like Ferdinand the Bull, wants to be loved—and he looks askance at those rude Republicans in the House who take exception to the socializing legislation which the White House has been sending up to Capitol Hill.

Some 300 young people were called to Washington recently by the National Student Association, to endorse the Administration's policy on the Peace Corps. The NSA has been taken over in recent years by the far left, so no opposition was expected. But to everybody's surprise, there was strong pressure to turn the Peace Corps into an effective anti-Communist force. Young Americans for Freedom had 40 to 50 delegates at the conference, and they demanded that applicants take a loyalty oath, be thoroughly investigated before being sent abroad, and receive extensive training in methods of combatting Communist propaganda. [The delegates of the Young Republican National Federation and the newly-formed Youth for an Effective Peace Corps took a similar view.] They were outvoted by the NSA regulars, however, and the conference went on record as opposing a loyalty oath or extensive investigation of applicants, and in favor of keeping the Peace Corps "out of the Cold War."

When it was proposed the meeting recess 30 minutes for lunch, there were objections. "Let us go without lunch, and let this be a symbol of the greater sacrifices we will make later," one delegate cried. The delegates overwhelmingly voted anti-lunch. Secretary of Agriculture Freeman was reported unamused. QUINCY

munist peace offensive, and the other Communist front operations in this country." The press did not report *that* part of the Senator's speech.

BRIEFS: The Jimmy Hoffa-Harry Bridges labor axis starting to play rough, as witness a fiery speech by Hoffa's personal representative, Lawrence Steinberg, to a Longshoremen's convention in Honolulu last week. Steinberg called for the overthrow of the "whisky-drinking, poker playing" leadership of the AFL-CIO which for some time now has been worried over growing strength of the Hoffa-Bridges unions. . . . Churchmen at work: The National Council of Churches sent two observers to San Francisco HUAC hearings and subsequently asked the same two to review the film *Operation Abolition*. When the observers saw formal NCC blast at HUAC and *Operation Abolition*, one resigned, the second is threatening to resign. . . . **United Auto Workers expect to have $40 million in their strike fund by contract-expiration time next summer. But under present conditions in auto industry a prolonged strike seems unlikely.** . . . In the past 50 years, $124 billion have been donated to philanthropic agencies—more than the total accumulated invested capital of our 500 largest industrial corporations. . . . Medical insurance facts for 1960, from Health Insurance Institute: In '60, 132 million Americans were covered by hospital insurance, 120 million had surgical insurance, 86 million carried regular medical insurance, 43 million were protected by loss-of-income insurance.

Havana reports indicate housing and road construction in Cuba virtually at standstill as mills turn out cement for gun emplacements. . . . Cuban refugees in Miami claim large numbers of children, some as young as four, are being shipped to the Soviet Union and various Eastern European satellites to be indoctrinated in Communism (following a pattern established in Greece during the Communist revolution there in late '40s). . . . Top Soviet theoretician Mikhail Suslov attended Indian Communist Party convention in New Delhi last week. The Indian CP reportedly has lost 20% of its membership in last two years. . . . **U.S. observers in South Korea feel there's some doubt Prime Minister John Chang can last through the spring in view of widespread unrest over inflation.**

An "F" to the National Education Association for the worst neologism of the week. The man "who is last to be hired and first to be fired" is now, in NEA parlance, "The Disadvantaged American."

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• Trends •

Whether JFK can sweet-talk a vexed but passive Congress into passing his $5.7 billion packet for public school buildings and salaries, scholarships and college loans is wrapped in the mist currently veiling Capitol Hill. Mr. Kennedy would not be the first President to be checkmated in his desire to tap the federal till for the fancied needs of the semi-monopolistic public school system. One gathers, moreover, that the pressures built up by the educationist lobby are running out of steam. Partly this is due to the commotion raised by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in behalf of a share in federal munificence to the lower schools via loans. In another part the senators and representatives returning from Easter weekend visits back home report something less than popular enthusiasm for this levy on taxpayers.

Local and state educational authorities have pretty largely refrained from endorsing federal aid to public schools. A number of municipal boards of education have concurred with the unanimous disclaimer by the Cincinnati board of any need or wish for federal funds.

The prospects for a federal school bill this session seem at this writing touch and go with the odds against the President and his Department of Health, Education and Welfare. But if the fate of this bill is precariously topical, the question raised by the National Catholic Welfare Council's insistence upon sharing tax monies with the public school system has a more enduring quality. And this insistence producing, as it has, a voluminous public airing of Catholic lay grievance over what seems in effect a double school tax, necessitates a new examination of the role of the public school system in our society.

This re-assessment is not concerned with the educational proficiency, or quality, of public school instruction as was the case long before Sputnik I. That issue went to the capacity of the public school establishment effectively to instruct the young in science as well as the humanities. The second crisis to swirl around the public schools arose after the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown* vs. *Board of Education*. Here the question, confined to the Southern states, went to the issue of universality. Should the public schools, supported by all taxpayers, be compartmentalized according to race? To that the official answer still is No.

The present controversy, dramatizing the desire of Catholics to segregate their children for reasons of faith and posing as a long-range objective a plural, free, public school system raises more fundamental issues. For the public school system, which now enrolls six out of seven school-age children, is predicated upon a doctrine which may be expressed as "one school, one people" in contrast to a number of Old World societies which maintain church as well as public schools or church schools alone. The issue thus is involved in traditional public policy.

For this there are, of course, historical explanations. The successive waves of European immigration of the nineteenth century aroused fears that ours might become in truth a pluralistic society, speaking many tongues, preserving customs and practicing mores alien to the American way and mystique. Hence, the elaboration of the "melting pot" thesis and the conscious efforts to indoctrinate the strangers and their sons and daughters in Americanism. To this end the public school, pouring many races and nationals into one mold, seemed a unique instrument. It became a boast of our fathers that they sent their young to the public schools, even when they could afford private ones, so they would not get high-falutin' notions of un-American class differences.

Times change and values with them. The idea of a homogeneous nation went out substantially with Calvin Coolidge. Nowadays the American intelligentsia endlessly remind us that we are a pluralistic society consisting for the most part of minorities. The political implications of pluralism may be seen in the bloc voting of the FDR era and of last November and the refusal of the scholars in politics to accept that the United States has any national interest separate from that of Africa, Asia and the islands of the sea.

If such be the case and such the trend, I see no valid reason for not abandoning the public school system as an object of reverence and fragmenting public education along the lines of parental preference. For this we have precedent in the GI Bill of Rights, which allowed the recipient to choose his school. That legislation's constitutionality never was called into question.

The obstacle to using school taxes for church schools is primarily institutional. It could be that the Supreme Court would continue to rule against a direct conveyance of public money to a school whose principal reason for existence was to expound religion. But what if the tax pool in city, county, state and school district was allotted pro rata to parents for their assignment to the schools of their choice? The parents naturally could not receive the cash corresponding to a head count of their children of school age. They would need to designate the school but their share could be theirs to call upon.

This is, as will be seen, a simplistic prescription for a freer system of public education. The voters in many localities might be averse to contributing to a tax pool out of which Catholic schools, as well as Seventh Day Adventists, Lutherans, Jewish congregations, Episcopal and Presbyterian secondary and day schools could also draw. Yet it is a possible method and one which might also be applied to the racial preferences of the South. Suppose that Southern states were to establish plural school systems allowing parents to elect whether their children should go to mixed, all white or all Negro schools? Would the Supreme Court strike down such an arrangement?

Mr. Kennedy, whose aim was not this at all, may find that he has opened the door to a fundamental re-examination of free, public education.

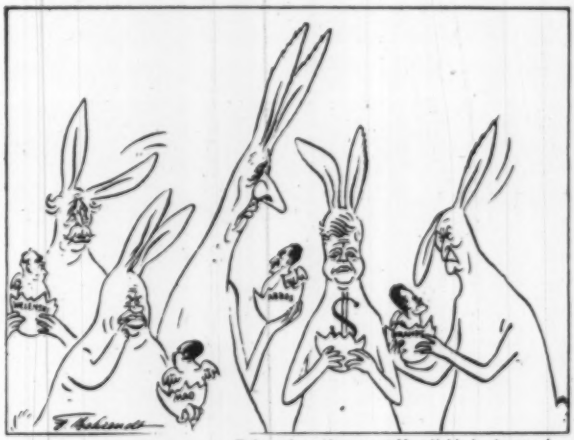
FORREST DAVIS

• Abroad •

Rangoon. Western public opinion does not yet realize either the severity or the significance of the defeat which the Free World has just suffered in northern Burma. When Chiang Kai-shek withdrew to Taiwan in 1949, ten to fifteen thousand Free Chinese soldiers stayed in the jungle and mountain areas on the vague border between northern Burma and the Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Sikang. In the intervening years, many of these have married Burmese women and settled down as peasants. But some thousands have remained in semi-military status. This anti-Communist force-in-being has kept actively in touch with Taipei, and has received aid from both Free Chinese and American sources. It has been valuable not only as an intelligence center but as a strategic outpost in the throat of the southeast Asian peninsula. When the Communists began preparing their currently expanding thrust into the peninsula, they decided that this gadfly had to be squashed. While Chou En-lai cozened U Nu in Rangoon with favorable trade deals and promises of aid, Communist troops from north of the Mekong crossed the river and moved south inside the Burmese border for operations against the Free Chinese force. The Burmese government succumbed to the combined pressures of stick and carrot, and petitioned both Taipei and Washington. First Washington, then Taipei, gave way. The result is the airlift now evacuating the anti-Communist activists from north Burma to Taiwan. An awkward obstacle is thus removed from the path of the Communist takeover operations now rushing ahead in the Far East.

Algiers. As the political representatives of France and the FLN jockey back and forth in their delicate negotiations, the position of the French army in the field deteriorates. De Gaulle's policy makes it politically impossible for the French command in Algeria to mount offensive operations or even to continue the wide-ranging "broom" tactics that had swept the rebel units out of most sectors. The risks make no sense with FLN sovereignty already granted in substance, and a cease-fire soon to come. Similarly, the command feels it can no longer rely on its Moslem troops, 100,000 of whom are incorporated in the French Algerian army. It is thus not surprising that the FLN negotiators are in no hurry.

London. Since Lord Salisbury is no longer in the House of Commons or the Cabinet, his tactical position for putting immediate pressure on the Conservative Party is weak. But he is intelligent, conscientious, and much admired for both his character and his achievements. He is head of the Cecil family, for five hundred years one of England's greatest houses. The name of Southern Rhodesia's capital city accurately reflects the important role which the Cecils have played in African affairs. Salisbury's break with the Party and the government gives open expression to the dismay that has been spreading among Conservatives ever since Suez. What is giving this tendency a new focus is the prospect—brought home by the recent Commonwealth Conference—that perhaps as soon as next year Jomo Kenyatta will be welcomed to membership among the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. The general public of the Western world still has only a faint awareness of the unspeakable frightfulness—the utter obscenity, sadism, Satanism—of Kenyatta's Mau Mau. No public journal has ever brought itself to publish the oaths and ceremonies in full. Salisbury speaks for millions of his countrymen who feel in their hearts that if the Queen is forced by her Ministers to receive the leader of Mau Mau, then England has reached the end of the road.



Behrendt, *Algemeen Handlsblad*, Amsterdam

Nevertheless . . . Happy Easter!

Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika. Julius Nyere, who will be Tanganyika's head of government on independence, December 28, is regarded by nearly all parties at interest, white as well as black, as one of Africa's most intelligent and responsible native leaders. The following is a sample of the lively common sense he showed in replying to questions put by *New Statesman*: "I think, frankly, that you can't avoid some political strings [along with economic aid] from any country. . . . Now, one thing Africa could do . . . is to refuse to arm. . . . If we arm in Tanganyika, no one would believe me if I said we were arming in order to defend Tanganyika from possible aggression by Britain or America or India or China or the USSR, because I could never defend Tanganyika against these world powers. So why should we arm? We could only be arming against Kenya or Nyasaland or Uganda. It is madness for Africa at this stage to arm against Africans."

Paris. Raymond Aron comments in *Figaro* on the U. S. affront to her NATO allies through the UN vote on Angola: "If the United States is no longer going to pay attention to the susceptibilities of her allies, then these may follow suit in relation to Formosa and Cuba. And after all, in Latin America it is the United States that is considered imperialist. The Marxists and semi-Marxists of Latin America see a difference only of form and degree between yesterday's colonial situation in Africa and today's semi-colonial situation in Latin America."

• The Investor •

The investment merit, management capability and growth potential of a company does not depend on whether or not it is listed on the New York Stock Exchange or elsewhere. There are excellent investment stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Also listed are stocks of poorly-managed companies. The mere fact that a stock is listed does not solve the investor's problem. To discriminate between the 1,123 listed common stock issues is a complicated task and thousands of experts devote full time to it.

That experts from coast to coast daily study these companies indicates that shares on the New York Stock Exchange have special advantages not attainable in investments elsewhere. No other stocks experience as constant and intensive examination by so many analysts, which, in itself, provides a measure of protection to investors. What listed companies and their managements do tends in large degree to become an open book. Good news and bad news reach the investor quickly.

Why do so many analysts devote so much time to following the fortunes of companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange?

This Exchange is by far the nation's largest. It lists the greatest number of shares and the dollar value of shares traded, daily, monthly and yearly. It lists the stocks of most of the major corporations of the country. It employs the most extensive facilities, including a nationwide system of communications. Brokerage houses have private wire networks. Their ticker tapes carry stock price changes throughout the country and other tickers report domestic and foreign news developments.

On the Exchange the investor is likely to find narrower spreads between the bid and asked prices than is characteristic of stocks traded over-the-counter or on smaller exchanges. Listed on the Exchange are more stocks with broad markets, large blocks of whose shares can usually be traded with relatively small price fluctuation. The price changes of stocks traded on the Exchange are printed in the principal daily newspapers of the nation. The volume of shares traded in each issue is available each day, and many daily newspapers publish these figures. The nationwide availability of minute-to-minute stock price changes and the volume of shares in each transaction cannot be matched by any other exchange in the world. The London Stock Exchange does not publish the daily volume of transactions of a stock nor can one obtain successive price changes with each transaction.

The philosophy of the New York Stock Exchange is that each investor is entitled to information about corporations which will help him invest intelligently. The importance and prestige of the New York Exchange is such that it gets listed companies to publish more information than do companies whose shares are traded elsewhere. It further safeguards investors through making other requirements on companies whose stocks it lists.

To be listed, a company must be a going concern with substantial assets and demonstrated earning power. The investor who buys on the Exchange will not be sold a promotion with little to recommend it but the best hopes of its promoters. Unless the company already has established, under competitive conditions, a net income of more than $1 million, it will be excluded.

To be listed, a company's shares must have a sufficiently wide public ownership to assure reasonably good marketability.

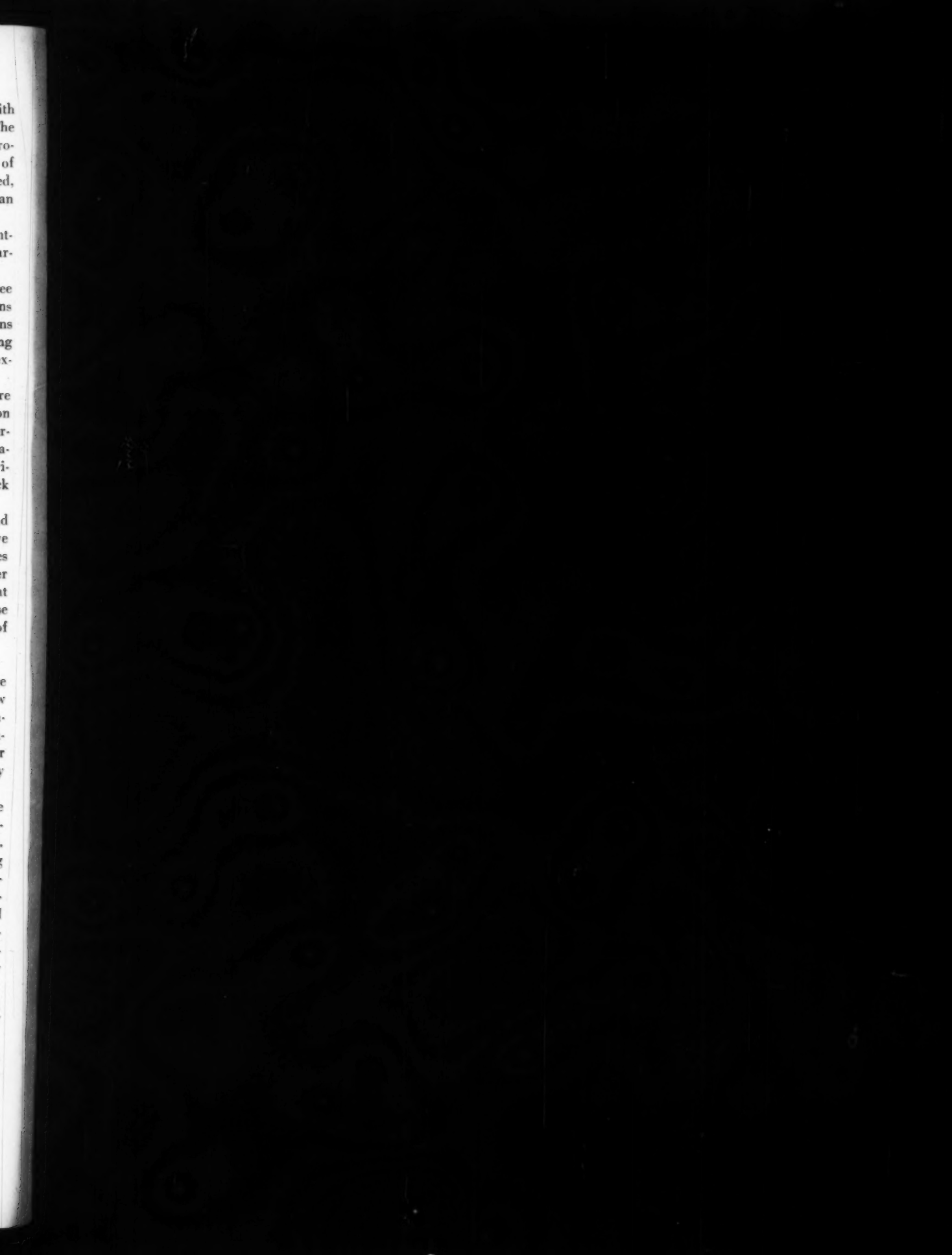
The Exchange requires published statements every three months, and 94% of companies listed do so. Exceptions are permitted for the remaining 6%. The exceptions have to do with special business circumstances making more frequent meaningful reporting impossible, or extremely difficult.

Safeguards are also established for the issuance of share certificates. A New York City transfer and registration agent is required to insure fairly prompt delivery of certificates. No shares can be registered without authorization by the Exchange. And as a safeguard against spurious stock certificates, the Exchange demands that stock engravings meet rigid standards.

Non-voting stock cannot be listed on the Exchange, and any company which creates such stock is likely to have its listed common shares de-listed. This requirement makes it possible for dissatisfied stockholders to band together and throw out management. The existence of this threat acts as a rein on those managements which otherwise may be tempted flagrantly to disregard the interests of their shareholders.

If a stock is not listed on the New York Stock Exchange there is no need to rule it out as a good investment. A new issue of a closely-held, successful and important corporation cannot be listed until sometime after public distribution takes place. And major banks characteristically prefer that their shares remain unlisted, to prevent the possibility that share fluctuations impair depositor confidence.

In the case of a new issue, it may be helpful for the investor to find out whether the company has publicly expressed the intention to list within a period of months. This would indicate that the company is already meeting the Exchange requirements and that its shares will shortly furnish the investor all the benefits of Exchange trading. Seldom do corporations whose shares remain unlisted see fit to give the investor as much information as required by the Exchange. Only a few banks do so, and insurance companies are notorious for failure to supply information needed by analysts.

When considering a stock not listed on the New York Stock Exchange, it could save investors many millions of dollars to compare information available with that required if the stock were listed. In many instances such procedure would save the investor from making a risky commitment. In any event, the investor choosing to go ahead would do so with some awareness of the risk.

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